

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 10991

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BREWSTER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, RH, SF, BH, ECIN, XF, UK
SUBJECT: LUNCHEON MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY

REF: LONDON 10940, 10941

1. AN HOUR AND A HALF PRIVATE LUNCH AT OWEN'S OFFICE FRIDAY WAS MY FIRST CHANCE TO SOUND HIM OUT ON A BROAD RANGE OF SUBJECTS. HE CAME DIRECTLY FROM A MEETING OF THE CABINET SUB-GROUP ON AFRICAN POLICY TO WHICH HE HAD PRESENTED FOR THE FIRST TIME HIS RHODESIAN PACKAGE. HE SAID IT WAS LIKELY TO GO TO THE FULL CABINET NEXT THURSDAY FOR PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION. IF FORMAL CABINET APPROVAL AND AUTHORIZATION IS TO BE OBTAINED, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE NO LATER THAN LAST MEETING ON JULY 28TH. HE WAS NOT SURE WHETHER IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO PREPARE WHITE PAPER OR NOT.

2. THE STICKING POINT WITH THE CABINET WILL BE THE BRITISH CONTINGENT FOR A TRANSITIONAL FORCE. OWEN AGREES THAT TRANSITIONAL FORCE IS A PREFERABLE DESCRIPTION THAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, PARTLY TO AVOID UNFORTUNATE ANALOGY.

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RIES, PARTLY BECAUSE IT ANTICIPATES EARLY WITHDRAWAL. THE TOUGHEST TACTICAL PROBLEM IS DEMOBILIZATION OF BOTH THE GUERRILLAS AND THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES. THE PRESENT PLAN CALLS FOR THE LATTER TO DEMOBILIZE AND ONLY A CEASE-FIRE FOR THE FORMER BACKED BY FRONT LINE AGREEMENT NOT TO PROVIDE SANCTUARY. I URGED AT LEAST A STATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF DEMOBILIZATION OF GUERRILLAS AS

PART OF THE PACKAGE, EVEN THOUGH IN PRACTICE IT WOULD BE HARD TO ASSURE.

3. OWEN SEEMED TO AGREE. HE FOUND YOUR LETTER VERY HELPFUL, AND SAID THAT HE PROBABLY MADE MORE OF IT THAN IT INTENDED, BUT ITS TIMING WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL IN FIRST ROUND OF CABINET DISCUSSIONS. OWEN SAID IT WOULD MAKE THE DEVELOPMENT FUND CONTINUATION CONTINGENT UPON STRICT OBSERVANCE OF POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND SAFEGUARDS IN THE CONSTITUTION, INCLUDING AN OBLIGATION TO HONOR FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS (SUCH AS PENSIONS) OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT.

4. ON BOTH THE FUND AND LOGISTIC AND TRANSPORT PARTICIPATION BY THE U.S., OWEN SAID THAT HE WOULD BE GLAD TO COME TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH YOU, THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AFTER HE HAS BACKING OF FULL CABINET. HE STILL WANTS TO MAKE A PERSONAL EFFORT TO SELL THE PACKAGE IN AFRICA. OWEN THINKS A PRELIMINARY TRIP TO NIGERIA MAY PROVE IMPORTANT SINCE HE CONTEMPLATES A NIGERIAN AS A POSSIBLE COMMANDER OF THE TRANSITIONAL FORCE. HE ALSO AGREES THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND OTHER NATIONALISTS SHOULD BE SEEN BEFORE HE SEES VORSTER AND SMITH. FOR THE MOMENT HE AGREES THAT SEPARATE VISITS IN RAPID SUCCESSION IS BETTER THAN A PLENARY GATHERING OF ALL PARTIES, SINCE IT ALLOWS MORE FLEXIBILITY AND PRE-SECRET

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VENTS CONCLUSIVE FAILURE. HE LEANS TO THE COMMONWEALTH RATHER THAN TO THE U.N. AS THE SPONSOR OF THE TRANSITIONAL FORCE, ALTHOUGH LACK OF A COMMONWEALTH STRUCTURE WOULD MEAN THE BRITISH PROBABLY HAD TO ASSUME MANAGERIAL BACKUP. OWEN SAID HE PLANS A NEEDED VACATION FIRST TEN DAYS IN AUGUST, SO THE WASHINGTON VISIT MIGHT BE MID-AUGUST IF IT SEEMED USEFUL.

5. OWEN WAS ADAMANT IN THE U.K.'S UNWILLINGNESS TO JOIN ANY SANCTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON THE BASIS OF ITS INTERNAL POLICIES. (THIS PRESUMABLY DOES NOT APPLY TO SANCTIONS WHICH MIGHT INDIRECTLY INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA ALTHOUGH DIRECTED MORE BROADLY AT ANY STATE DEALING WITH RHODESIA, IF THAT PROVES NECESSARY IN ORDER TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON SMITH.) THE U.K. WOULD VETO ANY U.N. SANCTIONS AIMED EXPLICITLY AT SOUTH AFRICA SIMPLY BECAUSE BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICAN RAW MATERIALS AND INVESTMENTS IS SO GREAT. FROM THIS CONVERSATION AND A PRIOR CONVERSATION WITH GRAHAM AND MANSFIELD, I GATHER THAT A LARGE PART OF THE BRITISH STEAM BEHIND

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RHODESIAN SOLUTION IS TO GET RID OF U.N. SANCTIONS AND TO AVOID THEIR SPREAD TO SOUTH AFRICA. ALSO THIS LINE OF REASONING SEEMS TO BE A MAJOR PART OF U.K. PERSUASIVENESS WITH VORSTER TO PUT PRESSURE ON SMITH TO COOPERATE WITH TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE. IF THIS IS CORRECT THEY WILL TAKE A DIM VIEW OF ANY EFFORT TO DIRECT SANCTIONS EXPLICITLY AT SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH SANCTIONS, LIKE INSISTENCE ON MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA, MIGHT UPSET THE STRATEGY ON RHODESIA. THIS IS ONLY MY SURMISE AND I WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO TEST IT OUT IN LATER CONVERSATION WITH OWEN.

6. ON A TIMETABLE, HE IS MORE RELAXED THAN HIS STATED DEADLINES AND INTENTIONS INDICATE. HE HAS A FEELING THAT IF HE DOESN'T PUSH HARD NOTHING WILL HAPPEN. ALSO HE IS CONCERNED THAT A DELAY MAY MAKE NATIONALISTS MORE INTRANSIGENT AS THEY SMELL GUERRILLA SUCCESS; IT MAY INVITE SOVIET OR CUBAN INTERVENTION IN SUPPORT OF ONE OR MORE FRONT LINE COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY MOZAMBIQUE; AND IT MAY TEMPT UNCONSTRUCTIVE DEBATE AND ATTEMPTED ACTION IN U.N.

7. ON THE SUBJECT OF BELIZE, OWEN SAID THAT HE HAD REJECTED CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM THE MILITARY TO SEND A CARRIER OR OTHER SHOW OF FORCE IN THE AREA. HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR AND AGREED WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF YOUR LETTER,
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EXCEPT THAT HE SEES NO WAY IN WHICH THE U.K. CAN INITIATE CEDING OF BELIZIAN TERRITORY. RECENT COMMONWEALTH SUPPORT OF INDEPENDENCE FOR BELIZE MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE U.K. TO INITIATE GIVING AWAY ANY OF THEIR LAND. IF THE PROPOSAL CAME FROM THE GUATAMALANS IN CONJUNCTION WITH A GUARANTY OF THE INTEGRITY OF BELIZE THEN IT COULD BE LISTENED TO. OWEN AUTHORIZES US TO SAY THAT THE U.K. HAS NO INTENTION TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND WILL NOT TAKE THE MOVE IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD SURPRISE THE GUATAMALANS. HE SAID THAT ROWLANDS' TIME-TABLE IS HIS OWN PERSONAL ESTIMATE, NOT OWEN'S. HE CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION ON THIS TOPIC BY STATING THAT HE IS INTENSELY INTERESTED IN ANY INFORMATION OR JUDGMENT ABOUT GUATAMALAN INTENTIONS.

8. TOWARD THE END OF CONVERSATION OWEN SAID WITH SOME SENSE OF INSISTENT WARNING THAT THE EUROPEAN SITUATION IS VERY DISQUIETING. HE SAID THAT FRANCE AND GERMANY ARE QUITE UPSET BY THE EFFECT OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POSTURE ON DETENTE. I GATHER THIS MUST HAVE BEEN STRONGLY EXPRESSED AT THE RECENT E.C. SUMMIT IN LONDON. OWEN REITERATED HIS OWN PERSONAL SUPPORT OF THE U.S. POSITION, BUT SEEMED GENUINELY DISTRESSED AT THE GROWING HOSTILITY OF THE GERMANS AND THE FRENCH ON THE QUESTION OF SOURING OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. MY PERSONAL SURMISE IS THAT THE GERMANS DO HAVE A FEAR THAT IT WILL PREJUDICE EAST-WEST GERMAN DETENTE WHICH IS IMPORTANT TO THE SDP AND THAT THE FRENCH ARE SUPPORTING THEM IN THEIR CRITICAL STATEMENTS ABOUT U.S. FOR HISTORIC REASONS, PERHAPS FANNED BY RECENT BREZHNEV VISIT.

9. OUR LAST TOPIC OF DISCUSSION WAS THE MIDDLE EAST. OWEN INDICATED THAT THE U.K. WILL TAKE A PUBLIC STANCE
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AS MEMBER OF THE NINE, BUT IS WILLING TO DO ANYTHING DIPLOMATICALLY WHICH WE THINK WOULD BE HELPFUL. HE SEES THE U.K. IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SPECTRUM OF EUROPEAN FEELINGS ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE, THOUGH THEY HAVE OBVIOUSLY MOVED RECENTLY TO A MORE OVERT CHAMPIONING OF A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND. I GATHER THAT THE ONE ISSUE WHICH WOULD BRING HAROLD WILSON OUT OF BENIGN AND SILENT RETIREMENT IN A MANNER DISRUPTIVE OF GOVERNMENT STABILITY WOULD BE IF HE FELT THAT THE GOVERNMENT POSITION WAS JEOPARDIZING ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

10. OWEN SEEMED CONFIDENT OF DURABILITY OF LI-LAB PACT AND HENCE OF GOVERNMENT. HE IS HIMSELF AMAZED AND OBVIOUSLY PLEASED AT THE UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT HE RECEIVES

FROM THE P.M. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, MICHAEL
PALLISER ASSERTS THAT HE HAS NEVER SEEN A FOREIGN SECRE-
TARY WITH SUCH TOTAL BACKING FROM P.M. ALL-IN-ALL, IT
WAS A VERY ENJOYABLE AND TO ME INFORMATIVE DISCUSSION OF
VIEWS WHICH OWEN WOULD APPARENTLY LIKE TO CONTINUE FROM
TIME TO TIME.

BREWSTER

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